

## PRESIDENT SAYS LEAGUE WILL MAKE WAR IMPROBABLE

Calling Upon Opponents to Present a Better Program, Mr. Wilson Says It's a Case of "Put Up or Shut Up."

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 4.—President Wilson told a crowd of several thousand here tonight that no one believed the league of nations would make all wars impossible but that the expected it to make war "extremely improbable." The economic and arbitration sections of the covenant, he asserted, would "keep war on the outskirts" and make it only a "last resort."

Opponents of the league of nations, he said, had discussed only three out of twenty-six articles of the covenant. The articles which would make war improbable had been overlooked.

Calling on opponents of the league of nations to present a "better program" for peace, President Wilson declared it was a case of "put up or shut up."

**Absolute Ignorance.**  
The first section of the covenant, as pointed out by the president, is "absolute ignorance" of the contents of the covenant. He said that the only way to avoid this was to read the covenant.

"If you want to know the contents of all," he said, "then read the covenant."

The president said he wanted to see that the covenant was not "put up or shut up" but that it was "put up or shut up" by the people.

"I am not a politician," he declared, "and I am not a politician who is interested in the contents of the covenant."

As the president continued and there was another outbreak of cheering when he declared he had not the slightest doubt that the league of nations would be the "last resort" of the world.

Some delegations for the president said that the peace conference with which the league was connected properly within the scope of the peace conference. He pointed out that the league was not a threat of war but a "vestigation" by the league.

**Minding Others' Business.**  
"At present," said he, "we have to mind our own business but under the covenant and the league we can mind other people's business."

There was not an oppressed people anywhere, he said, that could not get attention for its case under the league.

He did not mention any oppressed people by name but many of his hearers remarked that they thought he spoke of the case of Ireland.

Referring to the Shantung settlement, the president pointed out that Japan repeatedly had promised to return the peninsula to China. He did not go into the subject at length, however, but mentioned it in emphasizing that the covenant would refuse to recognize the validity of secret treaties.

**Kept Promise to Mothers.**  
The president said he could look the mothers of the country in the face proudly because he had kept his promise to do all he could to prevent any more war.

"This league," he said, "is the only conceivable arrangement which will prevent our sending our men abroad again very soon."

James P. Goodrich, Republican governor of Indiana, in a brief address welcoming the president said everyone wanted a better understanding among the nations but that every true American citizen also favored a strong nationalization. He pleaded for all parties to lay aside partisanship in deciding the issues of the peace treaty.

**Ovation for President.**  
When the governor mentioned that the meeting was to hear the president, the crowd cheered for several minutes and the governor could not stop them by presenting Mr. Wilson.

It was ten minutes before the crowd was quieted and the president proceeded. He traced the incidents from which the great war started, saying the significant circumstances were such that Austria and Germany "did not dare discuss" the demands made on Serbia. It generally was admitted abroad, he asserted, that if there had been no war, the world would have been at peace. This fact, he said, recalled that the threat of the league of nations covenant, "the agreement not to go to war for nine months after a controversy because neither had yet been considered at all by those who criticized the league."

"If there had been nine days," said the president, "Germany would not have come to war."

**Solemn Pledge.**  
It was a solemn pledge to those who fought the war, said the president, that there should be such an arrangement to prevent future wars.

"The act which was characteristic of the beginning of this war was the violation of the territorial integrity of Belgium," he continued, adding that one of the primary provisions of the league covenant was to prevent viola-

tion of territorial integrity. This provision, he pointed out, was contained in the much discussed Article X.

"Article X," declared the president, "speaks the conscience of the world. It goes to the heart of this whole bad business."

It was true, Mr. Wilson said, that every man surrendered part of his sovereignty wherever he promised to respect the rights of his neighbors; but he declared he could see no harm, nevertheless, in making such a promise for the common good.

**Must Have U. S. Concurrence.**

Pointing out that decisions by the league council must be unanimous, the president said that whatever judgment was passed upon the United States by the council must have the concurrence of the United States. He added that of course the American delegate on the council would not act without instructions from his government.

Referring to the economic pressure that would be brought to bear on covenant breakers, the president said economic pressure would preclude the need of force.

Referring to the economic sections, Mr. Wilson said that if he did wrong he would rather be shot than be stood up for the judgment of mankind.

Explaining how the treaty freed many small peoples, the president said that Poland, for example, had been given "a unity she could not have won and an independence she cannot maintain" without aid from the great powers.

The text of President Wilson's speech follows in part:

"My fellow citizens,

"So great a company as this tempts me to make a speech (laughter and applause) and yet I want to say to you in all soberness that I have not come here to make a speech, in the ordinary sense of that term.

"I have come upon a very sober errand indeed, I have come to report to you upon the work which the representatives of the United States attempted to do at the conference of peace on the other side of the sea, because I realize, my fellow citizens, that my colleagues and I, in the task we attempted over there, were your servants. We went there with a distinct errand which it was our duty to perform in the spirit which you have displayed in the prosecution of the war and in conceiving the purposes and objects of the war.

"I was in the city of Columbus this afternoon, where I was endeavoring

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to explain to a body of our fellow citizens there just what it was that the treaty of peace contained, for I must frankly admit that in most of the speeches that I have heard in debate upon the treaty of peace, it would be impossible to form a definite conception of what that instrument means.

"I want to recall to you for the purpose of this evening the circumstances of the war and the purposes for which our men spent their lives

on the other side of the sea.

**Cause of the War.**

"You will remember that a prince of the House of Austria was slain in one of the cities of Serbia. Serbia was one of the small kingdoms of Europe. She had no strength which any of the great powers needed to fear. As we see the war now, Germany and those who conspired with her made a pretext of that accusation in order to make unconscionable demands upon the weak

and helpless kingdom of Serbia, not with a view of bringing about an acquiescence in those demands, but with a view to bringing about a conflict in which their purposes, quite separate from the purposes connected with these demands, could be achieved.

"Just so soon as these demands were made, other nations of Europe sent telegraphic messages to their representatives at Vienna and Berlin urging

(Continued on Page 6)

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